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Young men's Christian
Canada and the four freedoms
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CANADA

and the

FOUR FREEDOMS

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NATIONAL COUNCIL OF Y.M.C.A.'S IN CANADA



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*Issued by the Young Men's Committee,
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INTRODUCTION

THE FOUR FREEDOMS are our goals for the post-war period.

In the popular mind they, more than any other set of criteria yet formulated, are accepted as the objective which we of the United Nations, and especially in Canada and the United States, wish to have fulfilled in the world-order which is to follow the cessation of hostilities.

Such goals as these, however, are not obtained by wishful thinking. There must first of all be widespread understanding of the nature of these freedoms, what implications they have in all areas of our common life, what they will cost and what steps are necessary to bring them about. This understanding should lead to a deep desire on the part of all free people to achieve these goals; if this desire is followed by work and sacrifice, a world in which the concept of the four freedoms becomes an actuality may arise. Knowledge and understanding are prerequisites.

For a number of years the Young Men's Committee of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations in Canada has had a constant concern that its constituency should be alert, informed, and ready to carry its full share of responsibility in determining the nature and the processes of democratic growth in Canada. Since Mr. Roosevelt first used the phrase "The Four Freedoms," many speakers and writers have copied it; in many cases, however, it has been used with more "freedom" than understanding. If such a phrase is to be more than a vague and meaningless slogan, some interpretation is necessary. This pamphlet is the result of a deep conviction that now, even while the conflict rages, our war aims should be widely and realistically discussed. The interpretations suggested in this pamphlet are not given dogmatically, but rather with the desire to stimulate concern, discussion, understanding, and eventually to promote action.

In preparation for this publication a large number of youth groups were asked to prepare "briefs" on the subject of the Four Freedoms. A large number of such briefs were turned in to the Young Men's Committee last year. These were used in preparing the statements which follow.

Other publications of our Committee (*We Discuss Canada* and *Canada: The War and After*) have found wide circulation in the Armed Services, in high school and church groups, as well as in Y.M.C.A. groups. We hope that *Canada and the Four Freedoms* may have a similar reading constituency and that many diverse groups will find in it useful material for study and discussion.

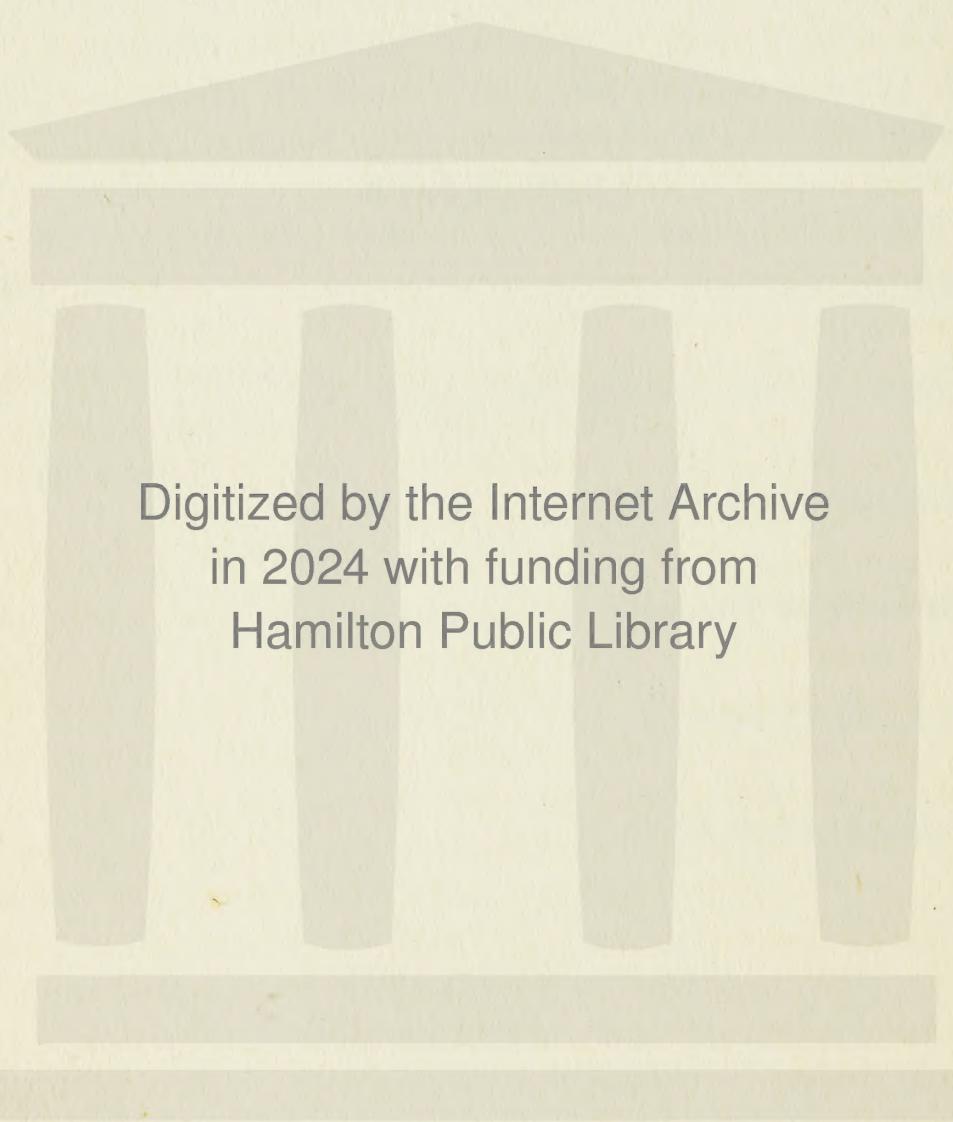
We are, of course, deeply appreciative of the work of the committee which organized, wrote and edited much of this material.

JOSEPH McCULLEY, *Chairman.*

*Young Men's Committee,
National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s in Canada.
April 4th, 1944.*

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Canada and the Four Freedoms

I. FREEDOM FROM WANT

F*REEDOM FROM WANT!* What hopes and expectations are contained in this phrase! Of all the freedoms which are imputed to us as war and peace aims, none has the magic appeal of freedom from want. And with good reason!

During the pre-war years (from 1930-1940) millions of Canadian people suffered because there were no jobs and no incomes; because there was inadequate food, shelter and clothing; because there was severe frustration. The result was not only physical suffering—it had psychological aspects as well. No one can measure the effects of the depression in terms of the loss of initiative, enthusiasm, and spirit among the countless unemployed.

It is little wonder then, that Canadians of all classes are concerned about providing jobs, security and opportunities for all the people in our Dominion in the post-war world. It is a goal which attracts and challenges. It is the kind of objective that might possibly provide unity and cohesion in Canada. It focuses on a need, felt and recognized by so many diverse groups, that it might well integrate the people of Canada around a common purpose almost as great and as important as that of winning the war itself.

Obviously freedom from want cannot be obtained by "wishful thinking." We must realize that freedom from want constitutes an extremely important and difficult problem. And, as with every significant problem, we must study it carefully, see the implications of the problem, look at alternative solutions, and formulate and work out our own proposals for its solution. This article is not designed to give all the answers. Rather it attempts to open up the question of freedom from want so that continued study on your own part, or on the part of your discussion group, may be facilitated.

A BALANCE SHEET FOR CANADA

Dr. Leonard Marsh, in his Report on Social Security, gives us an admirable study of Canadian living standards. He shows that while the desirable minimum income for a family of five in 1941 was \$1,577.40, 65% of city families were below this minimum. These figures reveal two things very plainly. *One is that almost two-thirds of all Canadian urban families have been living below a proper standard of life.* The other is that to give our people a decent standard of living after the war *there must be more food, shelter and clothing units produced* and a more equitable distribution of these units among Canadian people.

This problem of more equitable distribution is of concern to rural families, as well as to city folks. While important gains have been made in farm income since the outbreak of war, 30 per cent of Canada's population engaged in agriculture received in 1940 about 11 per cent of the national income. In the peak year of 1929 the farmers, comprising about 33 per cent of the population received 14.7 per cent of the national income, while in 1932 they received only 5 per cent of the national income. This suggests that farmers receive less than half of their share of the national income. Clearly such a condition is unfair.

Recent housing and health studies also give further indication of the extent of want in Canada. A Dominion Bureau of Statistics report on housing in Canada indicates that not less than 110,000 new dwellings are required to relieve the immediate housing shortage. This shortage represents more than 10 per cent of the total number of urban homes, and as we all know, many of the present homes are slum buildings totally inadequate for human habitation which should be torn down and decent homes built in their place. That there is an urgent need for improvement in the nation's health is borne out by the experience of medical officers who had to reject a shockingly high percentage of young men because of physical unfitness for military service. It is further proved by the death rate of babies (which is an accepted index of the state of the nation's health) and which, in Canada, the year before the war was 60 per thousand live births, while the rate in New Zealand was 36.

It is obvious that the problem of want has been, and still is, a serious one in Canada. Can we secure freedom from want in the post-war period?

THE NATURE OF FREEDOM FROM WANT

Freedom from want implies many things. In its narrower sense it is limited to the material things of life. It means that everyone has sufficient food to maintain his physical fitness, an adequate supply of clothing, provision for medical care, and a hygienic house or room in which to live. These are the major items of expenditure if "want" is to be banished; collectively they are described as the cost of living. Freedom from want, therefore, implies a cost of living within the range of all.

In its broader sense freedom from want must mean even more than a minimum standard of living. If it is true that "man cannot live by bread alone" it will involve the provision of educational and recreational services and facilities that will permit and assist the citizen to utilize his economic resources wisely and well. In this connection it is interesting to note that while the American security report is concerned with the broader meaning of freedom from want, both Marsh and Beveridge deal with the narrower and exclusively economic aspect. If we wish to interpret freedom from want in broad terms, it must be remembered that we need something more than the "Marsh Plan."

The proposal that want can be abolished might seem ridiculous were it not for one important discovery revealed by wartime production; namely that Canada now possesses the technical ability to produce in great abundance the necessities of life. With 700,000 men in the Armed Forces our national income has risen from 3.1 billion in 1933 to 6.8 billion in 1942. In view of this tremendous capacity to produce, who can doubt that if production were concentrated upon the requirements included in the minimum standard of living, there need be any danger of severe or widespread want. At the same time we must not be lulled into a false sense of security. The achieving of freedom from want will require a determined effort on the part of the Canadian people in support of a diversified

programme—a programme which will provide *work for all* who are able and willing to work, *social insurance* for those whose work is interrupted, and *special services essential to the health, education and welfare* of all citizens.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

A minimum standard of living for every individual implies many things, the first of which is the right to work. More than any other phrase “full employment” has captured the imagination of the man in the street. The ordinary man knows perfectly well that jobs come first. This, of course, does not mean the continuation of the feverish activity of wartime production. Neither does it mean useless “make-work” projects. Rather by full employment we mean that those wishing to, and capable of, work are to be employed at their highest skill at activities which involve the greatest use of our material resources.

Now if freedom from want implies in any sense, the right to work, this freedom has been sadly lacking in our country during the last twenty years. The peak was reached in April, 1933, when nearly 1,600,000 persons were supported wholly or in part by unemployment or farm relief. Others suffered, too; America topped the list with fifteen million; Germany had six, which helped Hitler into the saddle, because he promised to find work for everyone. The depression of 1929-39 caused almost unbelievable waste in relation to our capacity to produce in the thirties. The post-war depression, in a far more industrialized setting, will be correspondingly more wasteful unless we are able to take positive steps to prevent it. Can we find the way to avoid this horror?

E. H. Carr, of the *London Times* and the University of Wales, puts it this way in his *Conditions of Peace*:

The new faith will approach the unemployment problem, not by way of prevention, but by way of creation of needs vast enough to make a full call on our resources, and morally imperative enough to command the necessary measure of sacrifice to supply them. All frontal attacks on unemployment have failed, and are bound to fail, because the essence of the problem is not to create work for its own sake . . . but to create work destined to fulfill a purpose

felt by the community to be worthy of self-sacrifice. Once this purpose is recognized—as happens in the case of war—unemployment is automatically solved.

Full employment is fundamentally a problem of organization in many forms, international as well as domestic, and at the level of private as well as public enterprise. Full employment in Canada depends critically on the restoration of international trade. We will be able to finance the imports necessary for full employment only if enough of our exports can be purchased by other countries. Since anarchy in Europe or elsewhere would seriously cripple the Canadian economy, self interest alone demands that we give our complete support to broad scale plans for international collaboration in the development of world resources, involving the *multilateral* expansion of foreign trade. This involves more than a sentimental prescription of free trade and the elimination of trade barriers. Particularly after the war, it may require that Canada, along with other members of the United Nations should make free gifts of food, materials, and equipment to underdeveloped nations and to those countries gutted by war, even if a post-war continuance of rationing, price controls, and high income taxes are part of the necessary price.

Fortunately there are a number of encouraging examples of concrete development going beyond the very general terms of the Atlantic Charter, which are placing first things first and will repay consideration and debate by those who want to talk about concrete and immediate steps in post-war planning. These include the Interallied War Requirements Bureau in London, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation in Washington and the United Nations Food Conference.

On the domestic front private enterprise has a considerable share of responsibility for implementing the right to work. Business must start planning for maximum employment. It is not too early to work out the terms of reconverting to peacetime output, and to develop new products, new markets and new inventions. These efforts should be furthered by government guidance to price and investment policies. Our financial controls, our company laws,

and our control over monopolies should all be reviewed, in the light of post-war needs.

Most observers agree, however, that private industry will be quite unable to put all to work immediately after the war, and that the government must step in. Dr. Leonard Marsh in his report on social security, tells us that "it seems reasonable to assert that the employment reserve for Canada will not be safe unless it is part of at least a billion-dollar programme in the first post-war year."

In certain quarters there is a prejudice against the term "public works" which springs from the experience with the relief works of the depression thirties. There is, however, nothing in common between a public investment programme arranged as part of the general economic planning of our government and the relief projects of the thirties. These latter were far too small in volume, poorly planned, and provided employment for the most part only for the unskilled labourer. Fortunately, there has been a remarkable growth in the realization that there is an extensive range of useful public projects and developmental expenditures which will not only provide employment, but serve as desirable social and economic improvements. These include projects like urban development and rehousing, reorganization and rationalization of transportation facilities, the extension of rural electrification and the extension and conservation of natural resources like forests and soil, oil and minerals, fish and furs.

Then there is the equally important need of nourishment and growth of human resources. We should undertake an adequate public health programme. We should raise the standard of education throughout Canada. We should provide a nutritional programme including universal free school lunches. Public health, and adequate nutrition no less than public education are necessary to ensure each Canadian citizen an opportunity to lead a useful and satisfactory life and to fulfill his responsibilities as a citizen.

These, then, are some of the aspects of full employment about which we must be aware. How can we assure an international order which will give impetus to a programme of full employment

in every country? What is the maximum employment figure which private business can handle in Canada? To what extent must the government (local, provincial, national) be prepared to go into business? What public projects should be undertaken? What policies should be adopted in regard to such public works and service programmes? Should they be regarded as temporary projects or should the field of public investment be continually expanded?

THE RIGHT TO SECURITY

Another implication of freedom from want is the right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, dependency, sickness, unemployment and accident. Social security may lack some of the glamour of the "job-creating" proposals considered above, but nevertheless it must occupy an important place in our post-war thinking. Regardless of our success in achieving approximate full employment after the war, there will still be need for social security measures to guarantee freedom from want for those who are too old to work, too young to work, too sick to work, or who are undergoing relatively short spells of unemployment due to technological change. Not many people realized that about two thirds of welfare expenditures in Canada, when unemployment and farm charges were at their peak, were necessary to care for the sick, the aged, the mentally ill, the widows with dependent children, the unemployables, and the other more-or-less permanent public dependents.

Although social insurance programmes now protect a substantial proportion of our population against loss of income due to temporary or permanent loss of earning power, Canada has failed to make full use of this convenient security development. Except for the provincial workmen's compensation laws and the recent unemployment insurance act, social insurance has not yet been extended to cover several of the most important causes of economic insecurity, notably income loss due to old age and physical incapacity. To make the most effective use of the principle of social insurance, it is necessary to take the following steps: sickness and

accident insurance, disability insurance, survivors' insurance, old-age insurance, and health insurance. In addition it will be necessary to extend the scope of the existing unemployment insurance programme to cover persons now excluded and to raise the rates of benefit. According to the Marsh report even the highest benefit rates fail to reach the desirable minimum standard.

The machinery of the social insurances, however, is not suited to all persons and all situations. Some will fail through no fault of their own to establish eligibility for insurance, while others will require personal care and rehabilitation which only an adequate system of individualized public aid can provide. Unless there is a *residual* public-assistance system in which the only condition of eligibility is need, many persons will undergo serious privation. Canada already has had a measure of experience with a number of public assistance programmes, old-age pensions, pensions for the blind, mothers' allowances, relief at need, medical care for the needy and foster home care for dependent children. These must be extended, broadened, and at the same time more intelligently and humanely applied. Some provinces make much more adequate provision for these services than others.

While the adoption of the above proposals would go far toward removing the fear of want, still another additional step is needed to close the gap in the barriers that must be erected against the threats to the security of our people. The abolition of want requires the adjustment of family income to family responsibilities. That is to say, in one form or another, it requires allowances for children. This system has been widely adopted in European countries and also in Australia and New Zealand. It is becoming an increasingly live issue today in England and is one of the key proposals of the Marsh report for Canada. It is therefore highly desirable that there should be widespread discussion and understanding of what it involves. Many authorities feel that the place of children in a social security scheme has not been thought through and that large expenditures of money on nursery schools and other educational services should be of greater value than allowances to parents in cash for each of their children.

SPECIALIZED HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

The broad principles of protection which have already been mentioned, full employment with family allowances, social insurances and general public assistance, all bear directly on the problem of freedom from want in its narrower meaning. Freedom from want, the abolition of poverty, however, is not the complete answer. By no means can or should all of the needs of the economically insecure and the low income population be met by money payments. There are many services which in the national interest should be more readily available to all people. Prominent among these are health services (both preventive and remedial), educational and recreational facilities, meals for school children and counselling on a wide range of problems occasioned by the complexities of modern life. These services could well be expanded. These are no longer regarded as luxuries. They are the necessities of a people mobilizing their strength for war; or for a people preparing for post-war security.

THE ATTAINING OF FREEDOM FROM WANT

There must be no illusions about the task of attaining freedom from want under peacetime conditions. The expression of noble statements and the drafting of blueprints is only the very beginning of the attack on insecurity. In fact, the building of an adequate system of social security may be even more difficult in Canada than in many other countries. Great Britain, after a century of poor law reform and administrative reform has a mature, if still an imperfect system of social services, while the United States established the major elements of a national system with the adoption of the Social Security Act in 1935. By contrast Canada's services are backward and weak in many respects and totally lacking in others. In addition, Canadian efforts have attempted to deal only in piecemeal fashion and in isolation with single phases of the overall problem. Indeed, the great danger in Canada today is a hue and cry for a Beveridge or Marsh plan without due appreciation of the problems of administration.

A plan to implement the principle of freedom from want calls first and foremost for research and study, both on the part of the expert and the common man. We cannot build for the future till we understand exactly the problems we have to deal with, and the conditions we have to meet. Only thorough understanding of existing problems and goals on the part of the common man can create that social dynamic from which will result a programme for freedom from want.

It is not enough, however, to know what we want to do: we must do something about it. The second indispensable condition for success, therefore, is statesmanship. Too long has the great controversy regarding jurisdiction and finances between the Dominion and the Provinces barred vigorous political action on domestic problems. If the Federal Government is to have the necessary authority to provide an adequate employment programme, the Provinces must relinquish certain of their powers. If, on the other hand, the Provinces are to expand their present educational and health services, the Federal Government must supply them with additional funds. A programme for freedom from want requires full co-operation at all levels of government; the fundamental question of Dominion-Provincial relations, partly shelved for the duration of the war, must be settled in some manner before we can achieve this objective.

Finally there is the problem presented by those people who feel that freedom from want is not a desirable goal. They allege that the provision of jobs and security for all would not only be too costly, but would have the effect of discouraging self-reliance and foster unemployment by destroying the incentive to industry. To these people we can only repeat the following words of Sir William Beveridge:

Adventure comes not from those who are half starved but from those who are full of beans. Adventure comes not from those who are lying ill in bed but from those who are well.

There are many versions of how this war came upon a sickened world, but few fail to include man's quest for security. If employment, adequate food, clothing and shelter, health and education,

are necessary and important to us all, then surely these must be goals for which we fight, not only with our bodies, but with our minds and hearts. For the attainment of the "beloved community" is not a task for the intolerant, dogmatic, and the cruel, it is a task for people with understanding, insight, vision and courage. Let us be precise in the shaping of these goals; let us work relentlessly, but with good will for these objectives.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How can we keep the government responsible to the electors?
2. What are the housing and health conditions like in your community? Do you think a survey should be made? What needs to be done? What can be done?
3. What kinds of security destroy initiative and what kinds encourage it?
4. There are a great many new natural resources being discovered in Canada. How should these be developed and in whose interest?
5. Can any nation solve its economic problems without co-operating with the other peoples of the world? Canada is especially dependent on world trade. What implications has this for our post-war plans?

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II. FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

“The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.”

THREE are few people in Canada who oppose the Four Freedoms. A Gallup Poll would probably show an overwhelming majority in favour of these freedoms being implemented in this country and other parts of the world.

Why, then, if people believe in “freedom of every person to worship God in his own way” is there such widespread discrimination against the Jew? Why so much open bitterness between Catholics and Protestants; and why so little public concern for what happens to conscientious objectors and other minority groups and religious sects who take unpopular positions or do unpopular things in time of war?

A simple answer is that “freedom of worship” means different things to different people. As a phrase, “freedom of worship” is attractive. Most of us like it and give approval to it. But when we begin to define this glittering slogan we find varying interpretations. Further, many of these interpretations are conditioned or limited by the social situation. For example, someone will say, “It’s all right for him to believe that, but in time of war things are different.” What is meant is that freedom is relative—it is not attained in absolute terms but depends upon time and circumstances.

This simple term “freedom of worship” is complicated therefore, not only by interpretations of different kinds, but by the particular society or condition of society in which it is interpreted. Those of us who believe in democracy—who believe that freedom and self-direction are essential for personal development, that individual freedom must only be limited by the necessity of freedom for all, that diversity is better than uniformity—see freedom of worship as an idea only partly attained but an idea worth working and fighting for.

It is appropriate at this point to be a little more explicit about

the significance of "freedom of worship" and to suggest some of the implications of this term. Briefly, we believe that there are three points to be kept in mind:

(1) Worship of God is a personal and voluntary matter. It cannot be secured or enforced by legislation. The right of the individual, however, to worship in his own way can be protected by law. But real freedom can only be attained when such laws are rooted in attitudes of tolerance and good-will on the part of all in the community. Explicit or subtle discrimination can often be more effective than laws in destroying certain forms of worship.

(2) Worship means more than devotional exercises. Being free to worship God in one's own way means not only freedom of choice in prayers and ritual observances, but freedom to live in accordance with one's faith. Here freedom must be limited by what is judged to be "the best interests of the community." Mature and civilized communities can, however, permit a considerable degree of freedom in this regard and our aim should be to expand rather than limit freedom of religious action. Jeremiah, Jesus, John Wesley, Niemoller, and others may be cited as examples of great men persecuted by hostile societies. It is those societies, and not these men, that stand condemned in the eyes of history.

(3) For large numbers of people freedom of worship is of supreme importance and is basic to the attainment of the other three freedoms. So long as greed and self-seeking are operative in human nature, want will have to be reckoned with, and fear is a close ally of want. Free worshipful men, many people feel, are the best insurance against want and fear. Religion has been a powerful motivating force in the lives of many of those who have advanced the cause of the common man. Many feel the spread of the religious spirit is essential to the development of a free, peaceful world. The contribution of religion to a better way of life should be appreciated, its form and function understood, its freedom and growth encouraged.

These are general statements about freedom of worship. Let us look carefully at some of the issues which seem to be involved in the attainment of this freedom.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND FAITHS, PARTICULARLY WHERE ANY ONE FAITH IS PREDOMINANT.

(i) *Among the different world religions.*

This question is raised more sharply than ever in the shrunken world of 1944 in which all nations are neighbours. The struggle for international order is accompanied by the search for a universal religion. The temptation is great to present Christianity as the only full and adequate universal faith, but it is significant that this Freedom was enunciated by a Christian and has been most widely acclaimed by Christians. Thus, while holding firmly to our own faith as full and true, and while proclaiming it most vigorously, we also proclaim the right of the Buddhist, Confucianist, or Hindu to build their temples and worship in the manner of their fathers. Men of non-Christian faiths must be free to establish their places of worship in Christian lands. It must be apparent to any who have made contact with other religions that the various faiths are not alien to one another but have much in common. There are those who deliberately try to accentuate differences between religious groupings. These efforts have been properly referred to as "smoke-screens of hate." The wise and the truly religious see through such smoke screens. Religion can, and must be, more of a unifying force than a dividing force in community affairs. The attitude between members of differing faiths then should be one of understanding and freedom in which each seeks the fullest expression of his own faith but at the same time finds a basis for common action in the community.

In Canada. In spite of the great diversity of racial background in the population of Canada there are relatively few of non-Christian faith. The census returns up to 1931 list the following religious denominations in ratio to the total population:

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Jewish.....	.31%	1.03%	1.42%	1.50%
Confucian.....	.10%	.20%	.31%	.23%
Buddhist.....	.19%	.14%	.13%	.15%

The Confucian and Buddhist groups are small and have decreased in recent years. Almost 80 per cent of the two groups taken together are resident in British Columbia though the recent dispersal of the Japanese population will probably tend to reduce that percentage. In addition, there are a significant number of Hindus in British Columbia and a sufficient Mohammedan population in Canada to build a mosque in Edmonton within the past few years. The Jewish faith is the largest of the non-Christian groups in our country.

If freedom of worship is to be more than a mere catch phrase in our country it must mean that we will make greater effort to remove the persecution and discrimination which are the daily experience of so many non-Christian groups today. The post-war years will leave us with a heavy legacy of hate and animosity towards the Japanese and possible intensification of discrimination against other Asiatic people and Jewish citizens. Christian citizens will have heavy responsibility to maintain true freedom of worship for all minority groups in our country. As already suggested, this will be accomplished not just by laws, but by developing attitudes of justice, tolerance and good will.

(ii) *Relationships between Catholicism and Protestantism.*

Religious antagonisms have long been the cause of war and rivalries between nations and groups. Experiences in Spain and Ethiopia in recent years have shown that religious appeals can still be used to arouse opposing groups. It is easy for Christian groups to re-act violently against what are considered to be mistaken policies or attitudes in other religious groups. What must be remembered, however, is the fact that there are divisions of sentiment and varieties of conviction within all religious groups. For example, although some Catholic statements deny that it is a wise provision of law to allow persons of non-Catholic faiths residing in Catholic countries to enjoy the public exercise of their worship there are other Catholic statements which say:

In social life it is important forcefully to insist upon that which is commonly known as freedom of conscience. Adherence to

religion is an act of conscience, which should be submissive to the dictates of reason and to divine guidance. It is not the function of the state either to dominate or control conscience. The creeds which, in the present state of religious disunity, share souls' allegiance should be free to establish their rites, to preach their teachings, to shape souls, to exercise their apostate, without the civil authorities mixing in their proper province. (*Commonweal*, May 9, 1941, p. 418.)

However, while there are very serious tensions between Protestants and Catholics in many countries where both are present, there are evidences also of happier relations developing. In the face of the Nazi regime, both churches have stood together in opposition to the anti-Christian treatment of the Jews, to the sterilization laws introduced into occupied countries, and to the restrictions which have been placed upon churchmen. Within this past year a Joint Catholic, Jewish, Protestant Declaration on World Peace has been issued. There is hope that in the desperate days resulting from world-wide destruction and suffering, Christendom may increasingly speak with a single voice, thus removing one great obstacle to freedom of worship and a source of weakness and confusion.

In Canada. The problem of religious peace in Canada is one of the major national problems. The main factor in this situation is the presence, in the almost equal strength, of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in Canada. According to the 1931 census, the Protestants constituted about 55 per cent of the population, and those who look to the Vatican for direction in matters of faith and morals aggregate 41.28 per cent of the population.

Every Canadian is aware that the province of Quebec is predominantly Catholic; 86 per cent in 1941. The claim of the Catholic Church to the guardianship of man's spiritual welfare, results in civic action which affects the whole community. Trouble arises when the Protestants desire a public library and Catholic influence is sufficient to exclude all books which are on the Index. The public school curriculum and religious exercises in the school-room are also sources of friction. These difficulties are present in

varying degrees in all parts of Canada, for every province except Quebec has a substantial minority of Roman Catholics: British Columbia, 13.8%; Alberta, 25.6%; Saskatchewan, 27.2%; Manitoba, 27.9%.

In addition to these religious tensions the problem is aggravated further by the solid bloc of French-Canadian culture in Quebec. The feeling is current throughout Canada that undue pressure from French Canada is brought to bear on the Federal government in Ottawa. This is partly a religious issue, partly a cultural one, since the Irish, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon Roman Catholics do not feel a close identification with the French Catholics. The ill-feeling and misunderstanding arising out of this situation presents a most serious and difficult problem to the entire nation.

Dr. C. E. Silcox has pointed out the significance of the Canadian situation in world terms:

Perhaps Canada will, with its growing maturity, suppress needless bickerings and take the lead which it is peculiarly qualified to take, by reason of the very structure of its population, to bridge the apparently unbridgeable gulf between these two great branches of Christendom. If it takes the latter course, it may perhaps make a supreme contribution to the peace of the world of tomorrow and provide a new and better spiritual basis for the unity of mankind.

If, on the other hand, it encourages the rise of animosities, if neither Protestants nor Catholics can take effective and reciprocal action "to muzzle their own fools," it may thrust Canada into the throes of an internal conflict which will frustrate our war effort, thus playing directly into Hitler's hands; it may create a situation in this country which will end only in the division of Canada into two nations, it may render futile any satisfactory unity of action in the hemispheric sense; it may lead ultimately to the world's rejection of any form of Christianity whatever and the triumph, temporarily at least, of sheer secularism and materialism. ("Religious Peace in Canada" in *Food for Thought*, Oct., 1941.)

Surely we in Canada can develop sufficiently to overthrow petty and prejudiced politics. If we learn to understand and appreciate the advantages and contribution of both the English Protestant and the French Catholic cultures to our Canadian life we will have taken a significant step. But there are important issues which

should unite large sections of these two groupings. In both groups there is concern about world peace, about a higher standard of living for Canadians, about the growth and development of Canada. Certainly such concerns overshadow petty issues raised by creators of "smoke-screens of hate."

THE RELATIONSHIP OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS TO POLITICAL AUTHORITY

In the modern day this presents a crucial issue for in a very real way, that is what the war is about. If the state can claim man's supreme loyalty he is not free to worship God in his own way.

In all of Europe Christians have been faced with the question of laws and governing bodies which conflict with their fundamental beliefs. In every land men are continually faced by the problem of obedience to laws founded upon expediency or under pressure of special interest groups rather than on justice and the common welfare of all men.

It, however, is not surprising that the strongest core of resistance to the totalitarian rule of the Nazis came from the Christian Church and that innumerable churchmen have suffered for their faith in the fight of man to worship God and to obey Him above all claims of the state. The difficulty of deciding when one should submerge individual differences in support of government or common welfare and when one should stand against the government is a religious problem of long duration.

In Canada. Although laws are enacted for the welfare of the whole populace there are three points that require careful attention, if conflict between government and individual conscience is to be prevented. In the first place, it is not easy to devise legislation securing both justice to all and the maximum of freedom to the individual. Legislation must be constantly under scrutiny and adjustment if these essential factors are to be preserved. Secondly, no government is free from the pressures of special interests who seek to influence legislation in their own behalf. Vigilance and criticism is thus required on the part of all who cherish justice and freedom. Thirdly, there will always be special cases which cannot

be included in formal legislation and are thus subject to the interpretation and judgment of agents of the government. Legislation is provided, for example, which allows one the privilege in time of war of pleading conscientious objection. Tribunals are established to which such a person makes his claim. For the most part, the relationship between state and individual conscience is thus worked out satisfactorily, but there are many cases in which the judgment of the tribunal seems open to question. Administration officers of this type have a heavy responsibility for the protection and extension of Freedom of Worship in our country.

THE RELATION OF WORSHIP AND RELIGION TO EDUCATION

Worship of God is closely related to the instruction of children. If one believes in God, all knowledge must be in harmony with that belief. The determination of the proper relationships between education and religion is thus a major issue in the world today. Education in the past has often been a function of religious institutions, which closely related religious instruction to education. More recently, the state has taken over the responsibility for education and has in most institutions excluded all reference to the basic religious beliefs which are a part of all knowledge. It was assumed that the homes and churches would provide these religious bases but that has not proved to be the case, the influence of the school is predominant.

We have supposed that it is possible to provide education which is religiously neutral, to which religion can be added in greater or less measure. But, in fact, an education which is not religious is atheistic; there is no middle way. If you give children an understanding of the world from which God is left out you are teaching them to understand the world without reference to God. If He is then introduced . . . He becomes an appendix to His own creation. (William Temple, *The Hope of the New World*, p. 12.)

Pope Pius in his encyclical Christian Education and Youth, 1929, states:

A school from which religion is excluded is contrary to the principles of education . . . moreover it cannot exist in practise. It is bound to be irreligious.

The whole world has been shaken because Hitler was able to substitute a new Nazi "frame of reference" for the Christian one. The question of the basis of education thus assumes tremendous importance for the future of every nation. Although the divided nature of Christianity has made it difficult to formulate a clear educational policy with respect to religious belief, some things can be said with certainty:

1. Few Protestants would accept the claim of Pope Pius XI that:

Education belongs pre-eminently to the Church by reason of a double title in the supernatural order conferred by God Himself. . . . The Church has the independent right to . . . decide what may help or harm Christian education. (Encyclical—Christian Education and Youth, 1929.)

2. The religious basis of education must be freed of all denominational emphases in so far as that is possible. The increased understanding and co-operation amongst the Protestant denominations and to a lesser extent among Protestants, Catholics and Jews, provides some hope that agreement may be reached.

3. There will be some who cannot participate in the religious exercise if and when it is introduced into the schools. This freedom of conscience must be respected by special arrangements.

4. There will be no effective freedom of worship until the division between "religious truth" and "day school truth" is removed and all truth be seen as one.

In Canada. The balance between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in the population of Canada requires that special provision be made for each in Provincial educational systems. In most provinces there has been increasing interest shown in the introduction of Bible reading, the Lord's Prayer and a period of religious instruction either by the teachers or a visiting minister. This programme has met with varying success and generally is being accepted heartily and with good results.

Some helpful experience has come from the religious education work of this type done in the public schools of London, Ontario. Here it was discovered that the benefits to the pupils are in direct

ratio to the initiative and sense of responsibility of the principals and inspectors of the schools. There was general agreement that success in this work depends upon the strict teaching of the Scripture and avoidance of doctrinal issues. Difficulties were encountered in co-ordinating the work with that done in the Sunday Schools. It was agreed that instruction in techniques of religious education in the Normal Schools must be improved if teachers are to be effective in this work.

Recent intensification of religious education in the public schools has caused concern in many quarters lest scientific knowledge be replaced by emotional concepts and superstition. This has been a valid objection to much religious education in the past. All will agree that Freedom of Worship must also mean freedom from ignorance and superstition.

THE RELATION OF WORSHIP TO SOCIAL WELFARE

While the correlation between physical well-being and worship is not absolute, it is nevertheless obvious. To tell an undernourished community that they are free to worship is not only of little comfort, but is hypocritical. Worship must be conceived as a constructive effort to bring all to fullness of life before God. As the writer of the first Epistle of John says:

He who says he is "in the light" (that is, in the fellowship with God) and hateth his brother, is in the darkness still. . . . He who says "I know Him (God)," but does not obey His commands is a liar, and the truth is not in him.

Worship of God and concern for fellowman are, for the Christian a part of the same experience.

It has been suggested that those at both ends of the income scale who find worship most difficult, are least free. The dispossessed are often too embittered in the struggle for life itself; the wealthy find difficulty in relating themselves to human need. However that may be, freedom of worship must be expressed finally in concern for the physical and moral well-being of all of one's brothers. Freedom of Religion in its truest sense must, therefore, also involve the achievement of Freedom from Want.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Define clearly what you mean by freedom of worship.
2. At what point is it justifiable to limit freedom of worship?
3. What is there in the beliefs of Catholic, Jew and Protestant that separates them? What beliefs are common to all three? On what kind of problems could they unite and work together?
4. Should there be religious instruction in the schools? If so, what kind of religious instruction? If not, why not?
5. What responsibility has religion for the attainment of freedom of speech and freedom from want and fear? What should religious groups do about these freedoms?

THINGS TO DO

1. Read, listen to, and study examples of religious antagonisms and prejudices in your own community. Try to discover the cause of intolerance of other religious groups. What can be done to alleviate this condition? See if you and your group can do it.
2. Encourage groups of different religious background to meet together to work on common problems in your community.
3. Be vigilant and ready to exert your influence wherever there are evidences of intolerant and discriminatory practices against religious groups.

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III. FREEDOM OF SPEECH

IN his first statement of what came to be called "The Four Freedoms," President Roosevelt gave first place to "freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world." This was perhaps a way of indicating two very important facts. The first is that freedom of speech is basic in any orderly society under a free government. The second is that freedom of speech, among all the freedoms, is the one most likely to be taken for granted unless and until it is challenged.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH IS BASIC TO OUR SOCIETY

The struggle for freedom of speech goes far back into the history of peoples and the development of political institutions. In the earliest forms of organized government—for example, in the *Witanagemot* of Saxon Briton, in the earliest *Estates-General* of France, in the town-meetings of New England in the days of colonial America—freedom of speech was sought in order to give effect to the wishes and needs of people. In the England of the Stuart Kings, where the contest between Parliament and the Crown was being waged with spirit and vigour, freedom of speech was a leading issue. In the hands of men like John Hampden and in the mouths of those who stood for a principle, freedom of speech became a potent weapon for defeating the arbitrary domination of a king. The principle was revived on many occasions down to the revolutionary settlement of 1688. Long after it had been established, first by customary usage and then by legal provision, that the redress of public grievances must take place before the public money should be voted, parliamentary leaders were clamouring for the right to be heard. In a *political* sense, freedom of speech became almost synonymous with the right of free people to conduct their own affairs, without interference or domination from any outside source.

The *political* importance of freedom of speech is still a dominant influence, and one which applies both to the conduct of government

within a single country and to the relationships among nations in the world at large. In a world at war, where valiant men and women of many lands and races are fighting against tyranny and domination, freedom of speech has taken on many new aspects. It has, for example, an *economic* complexion, because of the extent to which it is still possible for certain interests with financial support to control some of the channels of expression. When "no taxation without representation" first became a popular cry, there were no newspapers with large daily circulations, no radio to carry the voice of a single individual all around the world.

All of these developments impose an added responsibility upon the defenders of freedom. We recognize that there may be inequalities in the standard of living. We would recognize, generally, that the provision of the necessities of life and some measure of economic and social security is a primary concern of public administration. It is equally important not to deny to any individual that freedom of expression which is both right and necessary.

In a world at war, again, we sometimes value human life very cheaply. But if there is any virtue in fighting this world-wide war, it is surely because we do value the dignity and the worth of human personality in the individual citizen. It is because the enemies of freedom-loving peoples have set their minds and their evil genius to destroy this flowering of human personality that we have resolved to wage total war until these enemies have been defeated, everywhere in the world.

In this sense freedom of speech becomes a potent weapon in the armoury of free peoples. In itself, it holds an imaginative key to the whole future relationships of free peoples. While maintaining its place as a *political* factor of first importance, it will emerge with much wider implications in *economic* and in *social* terms. In a ferment of new ideas, broadening in expanding circles throughout a hard-pressed world, many people not now vocal about their political or social beliefs will want to say something. If they have something to say, it is important that they should be free to say it. If it makes sense, people will listen. If it does not, they will do no violence to another man's opinion by allowing it to be spoken.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN CANADA AT WAR

The Defence of Canada Regulations place a number of stringent restrictions upon the conduct of private citizens. They restrict, in some cases, the activities and movements of persons. They provide certain controls over public safety and the provision of essential supplies. People are required not to make statements likely to cause disaffection or to prejudice discipline or administration of any of the Armed Forces. This may be an absolute restriction of what, under conditions of peace, would be considered as *absolute* or *ultimate* freedom of speech. But even under ordinary conditions of peace, there is no justification for public statements calling the civil authority into disrepute. In addition, the laws of libel and slander are strict enough to set legal limits beyond which public expression may not, and ought not, to extend. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as an unreasonable restriction upon ordinary legal and public rights of free speech if, in a state of war involving more than forty nations, very great care is exercised within Canada itself.

The exercise of great care in preventing the disclosure of information useful to the enemy of itself places a heavy and unique responsibility upon the authorities charged with the *enforcement* or *execution* of the law. It is important to recognize a difference between the *legislative* power to make the public laws, and the *executive* or *administrative* power which has no right or power to *enact laws*, but has the constant duty of *enforcing* them.

The ordinary law-making body is the Parliament of Canada. In wartime, through the operation of the War Measures Act passed originally during the Great War, and still forming a part of the revised statutes of Canada, the Governor-in-Council has greatly broadened powers to pass orders-in-council which have the full force of law. All orders passed in virtue of the War Measures Act have to be tabled in the House of Commons at regular intervals. Their operation will lapse six months after the conclusion of hostilities unless special provision is meanwhile made. This is wartime legislation, properly understood. The impression has apparently been created that the government of the day has been

using emergency powers to create orders or regulations to an extent which would not be possible under peacetime conditions. But this impression is scarcely valid if measured by two standards which ought to be in constant operation: (1) that under war conditions the variety of public matters requiring prompt decision increases enormously; and (2) that the process of parliamentary review acts as a useful check upon the creation or continuance of arbitrary or unwarranted powers. If this second standard does not do so, then parliament is not fulfilling one of its most important public responsibilities.

The responsibility of the law-enforcing agencies is greatly increased by the wide latitude given to the exercise of certain *discretionary* powers. The Defence of Canada Regulations have in this respect an important bearing on freedom of speech. For example, the Minister of Justice has power to make an order directing that any particular person shall be detained in such place and under such conditions as the Minister may determine. It has been argued that such a power, if abused, might lead to a virtual state of arbitrary arrest, protection from which has long been a jealously-guarded public right. The existence of any discretionary powers touching arrest, detention, or place or manner of trial do constitute a restriction upon the freedom of the individual. They are a possible restriction upon a collective sort of freedom of speech and of association in which the individual elements cannot readily be separated. The result is, therefore, that zeal in the defence of public rights—of what constitutional history calls “the liberty of the subject”—ought to be directed not solely to any one freedom, but to all the freedoms which give to the individual citizen a personal worth and dignity.

So far as the majority of the community is concerned, the ordinary common sense of its members is a useful guide, though it is often easier for individuals to protest against supposed excesses of the law than it is to arouse a group of people to a realization that their interests as a whole are in danger. It is usually only after something has been denied or taken away that the people concerned look to the cause as well as to the results.

SAFEGUARDING FREEDOM OF SPEECH

There are three general ways in which the interest and the legal rights of the community in freedom of speech can be safeguarded. The first is *tolerance* for opinions which may not command widespread popular acceptance, but which, so long as they are not slanderous nor intended to create disaffection, have a right to be heard.

The whole of our parliamentary system of government, and the working of all our democratic institutions, local as well as national, is based upon the acceptance that one man has as much right to speak as the next. All civilization owes a debt to Voltaire, who once said: "I disagree with what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." In times of great stress and strain, tolerance is a vital accompaniment to the struggle for freedom.

The second is *knowledge* of the letter, as well as the spirit of the law. The *spirit* of the law cannot change the letter of its content, but it may make a vast difference in its enforcement. If everyone who argued about this rule or criticized that regulation was well-informed about the exact terms and intention of it, the controversy might not be so harsh. (Controversy, unlike debate, cannot be esteemed for its own sake, least of all in times of war when the energies of every citizen ought to be directed to the single, compelling task of victory.) A careful knowledge of facts can never detract from the sincerity of one's argument, and it may well enhance its effect.

The third factor is a realization of the extent to which the interests of a whole group are concerned. If a right is challenged, in what appears to be an unusual or arbitrary way, and if the reaction is a corporate, collective reaction instead of isolated individual protests, then the freedom which is in danger will gain from this very fact. Freedom of speech is essentially an *expanding*, not a *contracting*, idea. In its fullest expression it is meant to be a means for giving all the people vision and the realization of what can be achieved by thought and effort. By itself it has no virtue, no compelling hold upon the consciences or the imagination of

men and women. But as the spearhead of a surging, popular movement directed towards an equitable society and a better way of life, this first of all the freedoms may become the leading-star of one of the heroic ages of our civilization.

Two words of warning should perhaps be added. Sometimes an effort is made to invoke a usage described as "British" (or even as "Canadian") in such a way as to discriminate against persons not of Canadian citizenship or of British origin. In advocating the fullest freedom of speech and expression, we shall lose all the vigour of the argument unless we make sure that a right zealously claimed for one part of the community is extended to all the people of that community, regardless of their language or racial origin or religious faith. In recent years there has been a growing concern lest people should be unfairly discriminated against because of differences in economic status. There has been less readiness to be vigilant against unfairness on the grounds of race or colour. Freedom of speech, which all thinking citizens respect and cherish as a right of long and continuous growth, will become stultified and ineffective at a moment when it is most urgently needed. In any vision which we have of a world community of the future, based upon the rule of law, we have to think in terms of races and nations being thrown into contact as never before in our history. Through all the years of readjustment and of planning the Four Freedoms will stand out as beacon lights. Among these shining symbols of a free world, freedom of speech and of expression will take on a new and lasting lustre and importance.

Finally, those who claim freedom of speech are under obligation to regard it as a *positive*, not a negative, thing. A right may be claimed repeatedly, parrot-like, until the significance is lost in the mechanism of unthinking repetition. Freedom of speech has never been lightly valued, and it must not be dissipated now by demands that are meaningless. The people who advocate freedom of expression for themselves ought to have something to say. The best means of ensuring that our social and humanitarian concerns for the future of the world are pressed forward to achievement is to see that other people know about our ideas. If these ideas are

expressed with vigour, tempered with imagination, and linked to the moving forces of our time, then freedom of speech will become something valued far beyond any abstract sense of justice and equality. It will itself become an unrelenting spur to better effort and to greater achievement. The language in which it is expressed will be borne along, like a spreading flood, until something better than we have ever known emerges from the turmoil and the strife.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Are there any "guarantees" of freedom of speech in Canada such as are incorporated in the Constitution of the United States?
2. Do you know, or can you find out, what powers the police authority in your community has to prevent the holding of public meetings?
3. Are you familiar with the rules of order for public meetings by which discussion can be (a) postponed, (b) ended?
4. Do you consider that the press and the radio of Canada exercise any control over freedom in the expression of opinion? If so, in what ways?
5. What constitutes freedom of speech in any country?
6. Is freedom of speech extended to the minority groups in Canada?

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IV. FREEDOM FROM FEAR

THERE are many causes of fear and many remedies for it. Some fears are of a personal kind which can be treated by a psychiatrist. But although the psychiatrist may help us face fear with more courage, he cannot always remove its causes. He cannot do much for people who fear want, disease, unemployment, or sudden death.

One of the major causes of fear in recent years has been economic insecurity, the uncertainty as to how long a job would last, as to whether a bank would fail, or whether the crops would sell. These economic factors are of too great importance to be ignored, but as they are treated elsewhere in this book under the heading of "Freedom from Want," we shall concentrate our attention on political factors. By political factors we mean the laws and governments which enable us to live in a framework of security. It is these things which give us freedom from fear of unjust arrest, fear of a government which is either too weak or too strong, and the fear that nothing in our society is permanent.

In Canada we had achieved a good deal of this political security before the war. Our laws permitted considerable freedom and yet they were such as to provide peace and order in our country. Many Canadians did not like the government in power but they knew that they could change it without bringing on civil war or chaos. Things were not perfect by any means. On occasions guilty persons did avoid punishment by influence; some judges and juries have been swayed by prejudices. Governments at times trampled on the interests of their opponents and of the people as a whole. There were cleavages between sections, races, and classes in Canada which, if encouraged, could eventually become serious. We had more political security than almost any other people in the world, but in the area with which we are concerned there was considerable uncertainty, doubt, and fear.

Certain internal reforms are still necessary. The process of making our laws more just and humane should never end. Our

judges on the whole are worthy men, but too many of them are still appointed for services to a political party rather than for wisdom and knowledge of the law. There is still some bribery in law courts, and there is still corruption in government, particularly local government. Our treatment of criminals is not yet in keeping with the most humane and scientific principles. Economic distress, unhappy homes, and inadequate schools still produce criminals. Although it is perhaps safer to walk down a dark street in Canada than in most other countries, we cannot sit back.

Yet in spite of our relatively secure state, the thinking people of Canada were oppressed with fear in 1939. It was the fear that our law-abiding country could not be secure in an insecure world. This is the fear that has obsessed us since, and the fear from which we most urgently need freedom.

It is well to remember, at this point, that it has taken centuries of struggle and experiment to create those British traditions of law and government which give us so much security within our country. The attempt to extend this security to the world, to establish traditions of international law and government is a most ambitious and most difficult task. Even with the best of intentions on all sides, it will be hard to find solutions which will do justice to all peoples. It is perhaps not surprising that we have needed two brutal wars to hammer the lessons into our heads. There is no reason to feel overly cynical or defeatist, though we dare not forget that this last war has come perilously close to ruining the experiment, and we cannot risk another lesson of this kind.

We must first of all remember that we are seeking to apply the rule of law to relations between countries. Many people tell us that this can be done only by achieving brotherly love among all peoples. Now world-wide brotherly love must be the goal at which we aim, just as brotherly love among all the people of our own country is what we seek. But we haven't yet achieved the latter. We still have to use force or the threat of force to keep peace and order in Canada. And we shall need force for a long time to keep countries from attacking or robbing their neighbours. Force is not evil unless it is put to evil purposes. It is only after long years

of keeping order by force that we can maintain the peaceful conditions in which brotherly love will flourish. This does not mean that constant education in the belief that men of all races and creeds are brothers is not important and essential. The spread of this belief makes world peace much easier to achieve, but most of the world's population will be killed off in savage wars while we wait for the conversion of all mankind to love of their fellow men. Most people seem to agree at the moment that we shall not achieve security by simply proclaiming that war is a bad thing and that we will have nothing to do with it—as we did in the Kellogg Pact. We must be prepared to stop other peoples from waging war and stop them by using force. It is the problem of organizing this force which is really difficult.

AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE AND PARLIAMENT?

A frequent suggestion is that we should have an international police force to keep the law in the way a police force stops law-breaking within a country. There is much to be said for this scheme, and we might hope that it will some day come into operation. But it is dangerous to think that a police force can operate by itself. A police force only enforces laws; it does not make them. We have had for many years an international court of justice at The Hague, but a court of justice only interprets the law. If we have a police force and a court, we shall have to have some law-making body as well. If, for example, there should be a boundary dispute between two countries, the matter could be referred to the international court. The court could say where the legal boundary was, according to treaties and ancient rights, but it could not decide where a just boundary should be. If the decision was not respected by one of the countries, the international police force could drive the offender out of the disputed territory or otherwise enforce the decision. But this is only the simplest kind of problem. The world is constantly changing. We cannot keep the peace of the world simply by having a court and a police force to interpret old treaties. We shall need a body or bodies which can take

positive action, which can scrap or alter old treaties if they cease to be in the interests of a new age, which can take steps to improve world trade or reduce disease. We shall need a body which can do the sort of things our national governments do for the good of their people and which our law courts cannot do. We shall need such a body also to control the police force and make sure that this powerful organization which controls the warships, guns, and aircraft of the world does not become gangsterish on its own.

No WORLD GOVERNMENT OVERNIGHT

If our ultimate goal is world government with a fully international court and police force, we should nevertheless remember that it will probably take many years of bitter experience and experiment to achieve it. If we insist on having a world government come immediately out of the next treaty, with each country equally represented and willing to accept entirely the direction and orders of a world government, we will probably be bitterly disappointed. And disappointment might induce cynicism and a reversion to crude nationalism or isolationism. History should warn us that the most stable governments have come in countries which developed slowly down from precedent to precedent.

For this reason we shall do best to rule out plans for the federal union of the world or of even a large part of the world. Although many nations are willing to harmonize the foreign policies with those of other countries in the common good, few, if any, are ready to submit entirely to the orders of a world body. Canadians, for instance, might think it sensible for Poles, Hungarians, or Afghans, to obey the orders of an international body with regard to their boundaries or armed forces. But is Canada prepared to allow such a body to dictate her immigration policy or her tariff structure, or the use of her airports and the Alaska Highway, even if a handful of Canadian deputies vote in the world government which makes these decisions? Until we are so prepared, we have no right to expect less prosperous and happily situated countries to submit to international control.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS A START

The League of Nations was much less than a world government, and it did not succeed. Whether it could have succeeded if the members had loyally fulfilled their obligations is a question which might well be asked. When we look back on the golden opportunities missed to enforce the collective will of peace-loving states against aggressors, we are inclined to feel that it could have succeeded. Although it might be better not to drag out old animosities and bitterness by reorganizing the League under the same name and possibly in the same place, it is probable that we shall eventually have to set up a body of some kind to perform many of its functions. The work done by its Economic Section, the International Labour Office and other Geneva bodies to improve the conditions of life, must not be allowed to drop. Nor should we forego the opportunity for a forum where statesmen of the world could mingle and express their views. And even our failures at the League will provide much basic experience on which to build.

THE UNITED NATIONS MAY WORK TOGETHER FOR WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

There are evidences in this war of a new approach to the question of world co-operation. We are experimenting in all sorts of ways. There is something called the United Nations which is beginning to have a meaning even though it has no formal organization. Its representatives have met and set up a commission to deal with world food problems, and it is almost certain that similar bodies to deal with other questions will follow. The United Kingdom and the United States have set up bodies to administer jointly their military and supply efforts. There is a hopeful trend now towards the creation of three-sided bodies with Russia and possibly four-sided bodies with China in place of the Anglo-American establishments. Canada sits on bodies which are British-Canadian, Canadian-American, British-Canadian-American, or formed of other combinations. There is a tremendous number of these joint international bodies growing up. They

have not been established by an international planning board or a world government but have sprung up to do jobs that needed to be done. In many cases they have disappeared when the job seemed to be finished. They overlap, their authorities are uncertain, and they seem to have no logical plan. But they do work, and they are constantly trying to work more effectively. Many people hope that out of these developing organisms will come a form of world government, based on bitter experiences, which can be adapted to peace-time purposes.

One striking feature of these wartime organizations is that they are not based on the equal rights of all nations great and small. The military strategy of the war is being directed by the Soviet Union on her front, by China on her front, and by the Anglo-American Combined Chiefs of Staff in Washington on behalf of most of the rest of the United Nations. There is consultation between these four powers to some extent, and the representatives of Canada and other smaller powers do not go unheard by the Combined Chiefs of Staff or in such other bodies as the Pacific War Council. There is, however, some dissatisfaction on the part of the smaller powers, but because the main responsibility for winning the war must remain with the four great powers, most of them acquiesce. There is more general uneasiness about the failure of the four great powers to act together than about the disregard of the rightful claims of smaller powers.

CO-OPERATION OF SMALL POWERS LIKE CANADA—A NEW IDEA OF FUNCTION

The spokesmen of all four great powers have indicated their intention to co-operate so that the world can be steered through the difficult transition period from war to collective security by a four-power directorate. They all insist that they intend to direct policy in the interests of the United Nations as a whole, but, as they have the primary responsibility to provide armed forces and resources, they cannot trust vital decisions to the endless debates of an assembly representative of all countries. Up to a point, most of the small nations seem willing to accept this situation, as

it looks like their best bet for peace. But they carefully watch their interests. Some spokesmen, like Mr. Walter Nash of New Zealand, have proposed an assembly in which all United Nations are equally represented and which could discuss long-range policy but nevertheless entrust the day-by-day direction of the war and possibly of the peace to a council of the larger powers. Canada has no wish to upset anything so desirable from her point of view as the collaboration of the United Kingdom with the United States, Russia and China, but we have protested when we were not represented on bodies which controlled activities in which we played a large part. The Netherlands, while likewise happy to see great power co-operation protested when the United States proposed a Relief Administration with a council on which not one of the European Allies was represented and she alone of the large Pacific powers was left without a member.

The Canadian Prime Minister made one of the most significant proposals to permit the proper representation of small powers in international bodies in his statement on external affairs to the House of Commons on July 9th, 1943:

Representation should be determined on a functional basis which will admit to full membership those countries, large or small, which have the greatest contribution to make to the particular object in question. In the world there are over sixty sovereign states. If they all have a nominally equal voice in international decisions, no effective decisions are likely to be taken. Some compromise must be found between the theoretical equality of states and the practical necessity of limiting representation on international bodies to a workable number. That compromise can be discovered, especially in economic matters, by the adoption of the functional principle of representation. That principle, in turn, is likely to find many new expressions in the gigantic task of liberation, restoration and reconstruction.

The functional principle means that Canada might be represented on a body which dealt with food relief after the war because we should probably be the second largest provider, but we should not be represented on bodies dealing with, say, Balkan boundaries, or wool production. In this way we could see that our major

interests were protected but we would not make decisive action by the major powers impossible.

As one of the strongest of the smaller powers in this war, Canada has been playing an increasingly active part in the determination of war and post-war policy. Canadian influence can actually be much greater than that of other smaller powers because of the part we play on our own and the part we play in the British Commonwealth. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 Canada won the right to be represented in her own name and also on the British Empire delegation. As the major decisions at Paris were made by the great powers, it was largely through her role in Empire counsels that the Canadian voice was heard. Today Canada is a much stronger country than she was in 1919, and her influence will be greater in both ways. When the United Nations gather together we shall be listened to with respect. When the four great powers make decisions, the British Commonwealth will be represented by its strongest country, the United Kingdom. Within the self-governing countries of the Commonwealth there has developed in recent years a system and a habit of exchanging views on matters of policy which means that at least one of the four great powers will be well aware of the desires and the interests of Canada.

CANADA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

Due to Canada's growing power and influence in world affairs, Canadians must do more basic thinking about how to reduce international fear and insecurity than we have done in the past. We shall recognize, of course, that our first duty is to keep our own country safe. But the past two wars have surely convinced the doubtful that we cannot do this simply by preparing to defend our own shores. In the past some Canadians have thought that we could be safe if we allied ourselves tightly with the United States and gave up the tie with Great Britain, Australia, and other British countries which, they said, involved us in wars in other continents. Others said we should give up all our world ties and, associating only with members of the Pan American Union, retire to the safety of our hemisphere. There are a few Canadians who still think

along these lines, even though the United States itself has stopped thinking that she can be safe in the Western Hemisphere. By announcing that we live in the Western Hemisphere, we cannot cease to live also in the Northern Hemisphere with Europe and Asia. In fact, hemispheres are inventions of map-makers which have no real meaning in today's world.

There are other Canadians who believe that we could find security by creating a strong British Empire prepared to defend itself. But, as Mr. Herbert Morrison has said:

There will be few regions of the globe where Britain, the Dominions, and colonies, will not have, as near and interested neighbours, Great Powers, each at least as powerful in its own part of the world as the British Commonwealth could possibly hope to be in that arena. Only in a wider system of political security will the Commonwealth find its own salvation: and its nature as a world-wide society means that no more limited system can service its needs.

It is popular also to think that the British Empire and the United States in close alliance could keep their own and the world's peace. But so exclusive an alliance might easily drive the rest of the world into an alliance against it. Nor could we have much hope of keeping peace in Europe and Asia without the help of Russia.

The problem of organizing peace on a world scale, of achieving freedom from fear in Manchuria, Ethiopia, and Czechoslovakia as well as in Canada, is terribly difficult. It is a problem which faces and involves all the people of the world. The solution must come by working together with other nations and groups of nations, gradually, and step by step, to the end of alleviating forever the fear of large-scale war, death, and destruction.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why did the League of Nations fail?
2. What are the pros and cons of international federation?
3. What securities are needed to guarantee freedom from fear to minorities in any society?
4. What are the marks by which you tell whether a society is free or authoritarian?

5. What do you think Canada's role should be in international affairs? Should it act independently of Great Britain?

6. Do you think an international police force would be a guarantee of permanent peace?

7. Do you consider that the use of force by a superstate or by a group of nations (i.e., the United Nations) can really make for an enduring peace or is there another way?

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